

/86 cont. /

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1. Parodi. p. 4.

2/3 excellent quality. They pull them up with their roots, then put them in a pile, cutting off the two ends, and let them soak in water. Then they crush them on a slab with hammer blows.

4/12 The latter is made of a stone put in a leather sheath to which a wooden handle is attached (Fig. 25, 1 /see p. 15/). There is no doubt that this handle is a recent innovation, and that the primitive hammers of the Uru, like all those of the Aymara of the coast and of the modern Chipaya, were nothing more than a simple pebble with, at the most, somewhat of a depression to facilitate grasping it. Once the draw is flexible through the working and hammering, it is rolled on the leg with the flat of the hand, following a process common to America as a whole.

291
171 Free. The dress of the Uru is identical with that of the Aymara, i.e., with very few exceptions, to that of the poor classes in practically all of Latin America: trousers, a shirt, a felt hat, and a poncho. Almost all the Uru, however, still keep the "cominero," the long woollen shirt which was once the national costume of the Indians who belonged to the Andean civilization or who were subject to their influence (Fig. 25, 4 /see p. 15/). They rarely put it on nowadays, and only on my express request did those whom I photographed consent to slip this tunic over their ordinary clothes (Pl. V, A /see p. 25/).

271 They cover their heads with a wool helmet, whose pre-Colombian origin is doubtful. The Uru formerly knitted them with thread made from the down of water birds. The Berlin Museum has a sample of these caps, the technique of which Dr. Th. Krichberg was kind enough to study on my behalf. This examination led me to the conclusion that although the idea of spinning bird down is ancient, the knitting stitches are clearly European in origin.

271 The women are dressed like the Indian women of La Paz: several colored skirts put on one over the other, a dirty blouse barely hidden by a mantle closed over the chest, a felt hat, and

188 cont. / They are as good and as bad

771 Catholics as the Aymara, and the little church constructed in the center of the village is the type which is prevalent on the high plateau. The pagan practices to which they are given seem to be the same as those of the Aymara.

776 The Pačamama, or "Earth-mother," is their principal [171] divinity, as everywhere else on the high plateau. They also spoke to me about ma'ku and samiri although I was not able to obtain anything specific or any details about the cult rendered them. I noticed on the wall near the entry of all the huts a spot of blood, a reminder of the sacrifice which had been made to the local spirit at the moment when the house was covered with its roof. A pile of potatoes which had just been grubbed up was surmounted with a straw cross, a bottle of alcohol, and some coca leaves; these were, no doubt, offerings made to the Pačamama.

773 An old Indian man dictated to me several of the prayers addressed to this divinity on different occasions. She is spoken of as ma'ku, i.e., "chief," as in Chipaya. Here are the prayers:

Samtha Ma'kwa
Holy Divinity

pi'nača
come

čai'tama.
let us offer up libations.

Tiča ti koka
Here is this coca

samtha
Holy One

tača.
I will give.

K'ikina
Potato

koka
coca

tabi.
I give.

Kuain (v)
Llama

tača
I will give

Samtha
Holy

Ma'ku.
Divinity.

773 Mythology. I was able to gather fragments of an old myth at Ancoagui, of which I possess a more complete version [171] which was narrated by the Čipaya. "In former times there was

2. Address

●171

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[For additional comparative data on material culture from other Andean groups,
see category 116, pp. 183-204.]

Caracas
Chigpa
Ayman 1876

1876 cont.

Marionettes are few in number. With the exception of a few women I do not remember among any the whole content of the "santos." Tapas robes have a small skirt, the tapas (Caracas up, as Chigpa up.) and the tapas (Caracas up, Chigpa). Further as a description will be given of a bloody sacrifice offered to a stuffed tiger cat (cat), presented to the task of preserving health of a group of him. This is done in perhaps the Chigpa Chigpa, Chigpa, which are shown at 1876 the altitude.

Another protecting animal of the him is a bird of prey sometimes of our birds, a stuffed specimen of which I also saw. Since, according to my companion, these Chigpa, or household spirit, are common in the whole Ayman area, it is quite possible that the examples presented at Chigpa may have been sold to our Indians by Ayman Indians who deal in magical substances and charms.

The village. The village (Map 2 Jan p. 18a) is divided into two parts separated by an extremely low wall about 200 meters wide in the middle of which stands the church with its attached chapel, the cemetery, and the prison. Each of these districts corresponds to a Chigpa (Ayman word), an ancient territorial subdivision which we have already found in the Inca empire under the related name of Chigpa (1). This bipartite division of all the

[See last page on p. 19]

1. The division of Ayman communities into two sections was already mentioned in the sixteenth century. Cf. "Relación de la Provincia de los Yacajes / Report on the Province of the Yacajes," Relaciones geográficas de Indias, published by M. Jimenez de la Espada; Madrid, Vol. II, 1885, pp. 46-48, p. 46: "And the last thing the said Tapa Yacajai did was to appoint caciques, chiefs,

/111/

Aymara and Kallua /Quechua/ communities recall the nonsex-
 ual mourties /in English/ or phantoms of the North American
 tribes with which I would not dare, however, to liken them.

These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in
 space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two
 practically independent units, without any other tie than the com-
 munal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a
 chief with poorly defined functions and, of recent creation, the
corregidor.

An antagonism exists between the two sections which is
 manifested in a violent form in the course of the great festivals
 celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out
 between the members of the two saya inflamed by alcohol. These
 squabbles are considered a necessary complement of the merry-
 making. Battles between the two parts of Chipaya are so common
 that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my
 presence in the village at carnival time for, he added, the two
 "mourties" would not dare to insult each other in front of strangers
 and so there should be no dramatic incidents to deplore. As the
 guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy
 in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me.
 Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal
 affairs the two saya ignore each other, and although their existences
 follow a parallel plan these are only rarely mingled.

When they are talking to a stranger the Chipaya designate the
 two divisions of their village by the Aymara names manan-saya
 and atan-saya, but in their language manan-saya is called tuanta
 and atan-saya, taxata. Now, these two words mean "east" and
 "west" (taxata is derived from the root tax: back) and simply
 indicate that these two sectors are oriented according to these two
 cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about
 their social organization the Chipaya called these two sectors
ay'u manan-saya and ay'u atan-saya. If we were to take our
 information literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

Carangas-
Chigaya

/121 cont./

[62] not believe that taxata and tuanta are clans, at least they could
 [616] not have been in the beginning, or the Indians would not have
 [614] compared them with the Aymara saya, which each contain a large
 number of clans. Another consideration prevents me from accept-
 ing this comparison. The part of the village called tuanta actually
 includes an area known under the name of warta-ayl'u, southern
 clan, somewhat to the side of the rest of the agglomeration. The
 inhabitants of warta ayl'u participate in the festivals and solemnities
 of the saya tuanta and are under its alcalde. Their individuality
 [368] is only revealed in their tendency to stay together and, a significant
 detail, by the presence of a special chapel in the middle of their
 huts. Each saya, in fact, has its own chapel where it celebrates
 its /122/ ceremonies, the church located in the middle of the
 neutral zone being used only in the course of solemn festivals
 which bring together the whole tribe. No doubt we are dealing
 here with an ancient clan which has survived whereas, in the other
saya, clan and "moiety" have merged.

[342] Outside of the public buildings such as the chapels and the
 [343] prison, the village is made up of dwelling houses with their
 immediate annexes: storehouses and small enclosures. The de-
 tailed description of the hut will be the subject of a special chapter.
 Right now it is enough to mention that the dwelling houses as well
 as those which serve as storehouses are cylindrical in form and are
 made of superimposed clods of earth crowned with a straw, dome-
 shaped roof (Pl. VI, B /see p. 30 /). In places the huts are,
 [361] grouped at random, but in a general way they are laid out in long,
 [363] more or less parallel rows, with the spaces between them corre-
 sponding to streets. As all the houses open on the east, each row
 of houses faces a different street.

[351] The huts belonging to a single household or to the same
 family are joined by small walls which form little enclosures used
 as woodhouses or poultry houses. A very low wall separates huts
 so joined from the next ones. The ground marked off in this
 [171] manner is comparable with the "patio" of Aymara houses and is
 [176] placed under the protection of a spirit, the patio mal'ku.

Carangas-
Chipaya
Inca SE13

U /122 cont. /

The chapels are surrounded by an enclosure and before the portal stands an oratory or a cross from which emanates a whole series of small chapels and oratories which follow each other in close succession for five or six kilometers. These strings of sacred buildings correspond in every respect to the zeque (1) of Cuzco, the

1. Ondegardo (Informaciones acerca de la religión y gobierno de los Incas /Accounts concerning the Religion and Government of the Incas/, Part I, p. 114:

"Many others, men and women, have charge of set huacas, of which particular account is given in the general letter about Cuzco, which is common in the whole realm and includes all the places which are distinguished from the others in some way, whether near the town or even as far away as the mountain peaks, if it is rugged country, and which they call apachetas, such as some large stones, and all the puquios and springs of water, or some level places which they build on some slope, or some specific trees, or the places where they sow the maize for the sacrifices, because all of these things are divided off by their ceques and boundaries around every town and are in the charge of persons who make within them different sacrifices for diverse effects, in some so that women may become pregnant, in others because they say that from them come the ice or the hail, and in others so that it may rain. Thus in this way does the Inca teach them this division of places

Carangas-
Chipaya
 Inca SE13

I /122 cont./

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 978

in all that was conquered, charging them greatly with the benefit which they would receive in notifying everyone in his land of what they had and could make use of for their necessities, which today they do by the same system and have persons designated who understand this, and thus it is necessary in all the towns to have them make a map, and, seeing the map of Cuzco, then they will do it...." On the zeque or ceque of Cuzco, see Ondegardo (Part 2), pp. 3-43.

II

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 978
 191

succession of waka, temples, and /123/ sacred places which spread out from Cuzco into the distance toward the interior of the dominiums in every direction. It is not astonishing to find in Chipaya an arrangement peculiar to the former capital of the empire in miniature. The Inca villages were faithful reproductions of the arrangement of the great centers, or, properly speaking, cities and villages were not fundamentally distinguishable from each other.

II

361

It is not by chance that all the huts in Chipaya are oriented toward the rising sun. Here also the Chipaya obey ancient religious traditions. This cardinal point exerts a real tyranny over the postures which the officiants and the crowd of faithful assume during the pagan-Christian ceremonies. The victims offered to the demons have their throats slit facing the east; it is also toward the east that the magician turns to make his prayers and offerings. The ancient tombs of the pre-Colombian populations on the altiplano, the chullpas, always have their door on the eastern side, a fact which had been noted already in the sixteenth century by Cieza de León. The modern Indians explain this concern with orientation by a myth which is unfortunately too garbled to allow reconstruction of its primitive version. Aside from one chapel

II

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II

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II

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Chipaya

/123 cont./

Aside from one chapel

the only structure in Chipaya which does not have its door to the east is the prison, which faces the church so that the locked-up sinner may repent while contemplating the house of God. I remarked the identical preoccupation in several Aymara villages.

The Chipaya throw their excrement in the street and satisfy their needs practically everywhere. Thanks to the dryness of the air the village does not smell bad and is not dirty in appearance. In contrast in the rainy season it becomes difficult to get around in it. The Chipaya dig the clods of earth with which they build their houses in the middle of the village. These removals naturally create depressions filled with water which must be drained by small ditches. The canal in front of the saya tuanta overflows during this period and cuts off communication between the two districts.

The entry to the village is indicated by two pillars which stand on the road to Huachacalla.

In Chipaya the only public meeting places are the chapels and the church. Passing strangers are given lodging at the homes of the authorities.

The dwelling huts are not continually occupied by their owners. In fact each of them owns in addition to his domicile in the village one or several huts situated somewhere in the midst of the pastures. These "farms" are generally located near the floodlands, whence the name which the Chipaya give them: was-k'oya, "water houses," is derived. The Indians also designate each group of these huts and their annexes by the Spanish name estancia.

/124/ The water houses are either of the type in the village or entirely built of clods of earth in a conical form.

Sometimes these rural houses are grouped into modest hamlets, but they are most frequently isolated. There is a considerable number of them, and one finds them dispersed all around the village within a radius which varies from seven to ten kilometers.

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Chipaya

/326 cont./

mentality. A great part of their lexicographic store is clearly of Aymara origin, and this neglect of their early language has not only affected rare words but also those most frequently used, such as "brother," "sister," "good," "bad," "hello," etc. All the Chipaya without exception are bilingual, and even among themselves they do not always use their old Uro dialect. The invasion of Aymara words and phrases has brought with it one of Spanish and even Ki'ua /Quechua/ words. The prayers which nearly to the last detail are all in Aymara, are /327/ in addition sprinkled with Spanish expressions, which are found even in the most brief invocation or formulas. If the Chipaya formerly did have a group of oral rites which were their own, these have completely disappeared in order to make room for the Aymara ritual. This penetration must only have been effected in the course of the last centuries, as is proved by the number of Spanish words and formulas which, as I have just said, form an integral part of the religious texts.

Chipaya music has a purely Aymara character, and it is not impossible that it has also undergone a distant Spanish influence. The instruments on which it is executed are identical with those which one finds all over the altiplano. This activity of the Aymara in the field of music continues to our day, and I have witnessed oral music lessons given the Chipaya Indians by Aymara or Aymara half-breeds. The best Chipaya musicians have had their apprenticeship outside their village.

The pagan ceremonies which I witnessed in Chipaya greatly recall the idolatrous practices the survival of which was denounced by the Spanish inquisitors in the Peru of the seventeenth century.

They also have a close affinity with the secret cults of the Aymara. These similarities, which often extend to details of the lowest degree, attest to the uniformity of beliefs and popular rites throughout the whole Andean region which was under Inca influence.

On this common basis developed the more complex religions of the great, vanished empires. The affinities between Chipaya and Aymara, chiefly in the religious sphere, are so close that we can

Carangas-
Chipaya

/327 cont./

[171] consider the Uro of the desert of Carangas as the last representatives
[174] of the old-civilization of the Bolivian puna as it was up to the seventeenth century. To judge from their modern ethnography, nothing other than language must have formerly distinguished an Aymara Indian from a Chipaya. If the "superstitions" of the Aymara and the Chipaya are the same, they have been preserved in a purer and more complete form among the latter.

[176] Divinities and sacred objects. The principal divinities
[178] which the Chipaya worship are various saints (San Felipe, San Jerónimo, Santiago, Santa Ana, the patroness of the village, the Earth-mother (Pača-mama) likened to the Virgin, some weakly individualized demons (Čunkirini-mal'ku, Estewan-mal'ku, Kemperani-mal'ku, etc.), the mountains on their horizon, the Samaja in particular, the Laucá River, and their church tower (Turi-mal'ku).

[178] The houses are protected by a spirit, the patio mal'ku, and
[185] by stuffed animals (wildcat, hawk) which are the object of a strictly household worship.

[182] /328/ The saints and the Pača-mama. As will be seen in the description of religious ceremonies, saints are put on the same level as gods or demons and receive libations and blood sacrifices. They have not been substituted for old pagan divinities, as has been the case in other regions of the altiplano, but have been simply added as supernumeraries to the list of demons and protecting spirits of the Chipaya.

[197] The Pača-mama (the Earth-mother), without doubt the principal one of the pagan divinities of the Chipaya, is constantly confused with the Virgin, and the Indians declare both that the Virgin is the Earth-mother and that the Earth-mother is the Virgin. They do not know her by the name of Maria but always by that of Virxin, which they make follow the word for earth (taika).

[198] Offerings of coca, alcohol, and llama fetus are made to the Pača-mama, and the earth is kissed as a sign of respect toward her. I did not attend any ceremony which could be considered as worship

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Chipaya
Aymara SF5

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[791] /330 cont./

The word mal'ku among the Chipaya as among the Aymara also indicates a special category of fetishes which are widespread in Carangas Province and perhaps also in other parts of the territory inhabited by the Aymara and the Kičua. These are stuffed animals or plants which protect the house. My Aymara interpreter gave me miscellaneous information on the subject of the mal'ku of his people, the accuracy of which I have subsequently been able to verify.

A
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[824] The mal'ku can be a rather rare cactus which the Indians gather in the fields and which they transplant to the courtyard of their hut.

A
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[825] They build a miniature chapel of adobe for it, decorate it with tufts of colored wool and snakewood /serpentin/, and make a sacrifice to it on the first of August, the month which is considered "aciago," i.e., of evil omen.

A
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[826] /331/ Here is the sacred formula in Kičua which is recited while making offerings to the mal'ku:

<u>Mal'kito</u>	<u>kaits</u>	<u>korisk'aiki</u>	<u>wawaik'ika</u>
Little <u>mal'ku</u>	this	I will give thee	we are thy sons

<u>amapinak'onkiču</u>	<u>tokoy</u>	<u>imata</u>	<u>korisk'aiki</u>
do not be angry	all	next	I will give thee.

"Little mal'ku, I make thee this offering. We are thy sons. Do not be angry. I will make thee this offering presently."

A
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[825] The titi-mal'ku is a wildcat, grey in color, which the Indians stuff, put on a table or a box, and to which they make offerings of coca every Friday and Saturday. It is often decorated with ribbons and other ornaments. My informant led me to the house of a chola of Oruro, where I saw one of these animals prepared in this way.

A
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[826] The crossbeams of the roof (oko mal'ku) are also qualified with the epithet mal'ku and are considered sacred since they receive blood sacrifices.

Caranga: -
 Chipaya
 Modern Quechua SE24

u /331 cont. /

*978 Further on (p. 115) the description of a sacrifice made by a Chipaya Indian in honor of a fiti-mal'ku, i.e. the wildcat protector of his house will be given. In a hut which served as a storage place in Chipaya, I saw a stuffed hawk, mamani, which was likewise pointed out to me as the mal'ku of the family which owned the hut.

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 [171] Certain characters in Aymara folklore also bear the epithet mal'ku. Thus the Wasa mal'ku, mysterious protector of wild animals. These examples allow us at present to form a fairly clear idea of the evolution undergone by the word mal'ku and of its present meaning. In the beginning this term denoted pre-eminence, whether it was purely secular and due to social rank or derived from the sacred nature of the object or person thus qualified. The substitution of approximate Spanish equivalents for the ancient native names designating the different degrees of authority has caused the use of the word mal'ku in the sense of chief to disappear. It is only preserved in the language to denote excellence, that which is worthy of respect, and consequently the supernatural and sacred. This evolution has been carried through to its most extreme limit, and today mal'ku can be translated in certain instances by "demon." In some Chipaya prayers the magician calls indiscriminately upon "all the mal'ku"; he invites the "mal'ku" to come eat the pieces of meat which are tossed to them in the air.

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 [13] /332/ The bibliographical research which I have undertaken has brought me only rare examples of the word mal'ku being attributed to supernatural beings or being invested with the meaning "sacred." The present natives of the Huarochari region (1) worship

1. Tello (Julio C.) and Mirando (Prospero). "Wallallao. Ceremonias Gentílicas realizadas en la Región Cisandina del Perú Central /Wallallao. Pagan Ceremonies carried out in the Cisandean Region of Central Peru (" Inca, Lima, Vol. I, No. 2, 1923, pp. 475-549, 510, 532, 545.

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Chipaya
Modern Quechua SE24

M /332 cont. /

the "malikos or mummies of their pagan ancestors." Before repairing the irrigation canals "the people go to the communal house where the officials are in order to learn from their mouths the prognostications transmitted by the malikos." "Near the lagoon of Pokie there is a large, rounded rock, which they call the Maliko of the potato. The officials and the old men dance around this rock, chanting in Keshwa /Quechua/. " In the first examples the word maliku seems to be synonymous with maliqui, bodies of ancestors. "After the stone Huacas." Arriaga (2) tells us, "their greatest object

2. Arriaga. Extirpación de la
idolatría del Piru /Extirpation of
the Idolatry of Peru/. p. 14.

of veneration and adoration are the malquis, which are called Munao on the plain; these are the bones or the entire bodies of pagan ancestors, whom they call sons of Huacas; they keep them in the fields in secluded places and in the Machay, which are their ancient tombs; sometimes they adorn them with very precious tunics and with plumes of various colors or with cumbis. " As at Huanechiri maliko is, it appears, the native name for mummies; it may be assumed that it is a dialectal form of the word maliqui, which has the same meaning. As for the maliko rock, it is identical with the ancient honopa and comes close to our sacred cones and the jamiri which we will discuss later. It is evident that in this case the word maliko corresponds fairly exactly with its Aymara and Chiryo homonym.

Rigoberto Paredes' book (3) on religious survivals in Bolivia

3. Paredes (Rigoberto). Mitos,
supersticiones y supervivencias populares
de Bolivia /Bolivian Myths, Superstitions,
and Popular Survivals/. La Paz, 1920,
pp. 53-16.

Carangas-
Cajaya

/332 cont./

contains several allusions to ma'ku, which the author confused with the Wais ma'ku which was under consideration above. "If the Indians slaughter a sheep, a llama, or an ox, they sprinkle the fronzo, or the triangular extremity of the main wall of their house, in homage to the ma'ku, who, being assured that he has not been forgotten, favors this hearth in thanks for the offering." Here it is a question of the worship of the household ma'ku, which I have already mentioned. The same folklorist describes some ceremonies performed in honor of a ma'ku, i.e., a doll which the Indians attach to the end of a pole and to which they make blood sacrifices. "This effigy can sometimes be a decorated doll /333/ and at other times a carved stone, a plaster image, or a stick wrapped in colored rag."

In contrast to the word ma'ku itself, the idea which it expresses is familiar to all those who have been occupied with the ethnography of ancient Peru. I could give many examples to demonstrate that the Cajaya ma'ku are nothing other than huaca, whose nature, form, and number were so often mentioned by the old chroniclers. As their descriptions have been compiled by numerous modern authors dealing with Peruvian religion, I think it unnecessary to cite in my turn these well-known passages (1).

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1. See among others Hija y Casmaña (1). La religión del Imperio de los Incas /The Religion of the Inca Empire/. Vol. I. "Los fundamentos del culto. Huacas, campos, apachinas, urus, huacras, machas /The Foundations of the Cult. Huacas, Campos, Apachinas, Uru, Huacras, Machas/." Quito, 1861; Lancham (Ricardo E.). Las creencias religiosas de los antiguos Peruanos /The Religious Beliefs of the Ancient Peruvians/. Santiago, Chile, 1929, pp. 51-55.

Carangas
Chipaya

1939 cont.-1

wood and come from the forests of eastern Bolivia. The Indians call them by the half-Aymara, half-Spanish word kamana-para.

- (19) "house stick." I never saw one in the Aymara huts where I stayed.

Sanctuaries, chapels, and oratories. The Chipaya celebrate their festivals at the foot of the sacred cones of earth, or mal'ku, near the camari's cellar or in the chapels and the village church. I have already mentioned above the location of the mal'ku in relation to the village, and I have given a complete description of them. Hence note must be taken here only of the edifices of a mixed character, i.e., those which are used simultaneously for observances of Christian and pagan worship.

The church falls into this last category. Its belfry is a divinity common to the entire tribe, as the church is situated in the middle of the neutral ground which separates the two saya. Its interior is miserable and does not differ at all from the rural churches in the rest of Bolivia, unless in its poverty. On the altar are a few images made of pasteboard, which receive blood sacrifices, offerings of uwa, and libations of alcohol and chicha. Exactly as in other Bolivian churches, one finds in this one an unusual number of boxes containing the image of Saint James on his horse, a saint whom the Indians hold in particular veneration and to whom they have given all the attributes and functions of the ancient god of thunder. One sees there also innumerable small terra-cotta bowls, full of tallow in which a wick of wool burns; these little lamps take the place of candles and are given by the faithful.

(20) Each clan has in addition its chapel, built on the same plan as the church but smaller. The interior decoration is almost the same but even more wretched. In front of the chapel a small enclosure is used for gatherings of the faithful when they assemble to drink or feast together in homage to some Christian or pagan divinity. From the Tumra chapel a line of chapels and little square edifices, which for want of a better word I shall call oratories or altars, extends in a straight line toward the east, or more precisely toward the southeast. These are small cubes of earth topped with a niche

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Chipaya

/339 cont./

* 339 and decorated with small earthen cornices which make them vaguely comparable to miniature pagodas. The niche always faces east and generally contains coca leaves, dishes with the remains of offerings, small bottles full of alcohol, morsels of copal, and little lamps /340/ with tallow. Some coins are also to be found there. These curious constructions are carefully painted white and are numerous not only in the village but also in the whole extent of Chipaya territory, where they tend to be distributed in long strings. They alternate with tiny chapels which are within an enclosure and also decorated with cornices. The interior of these chapels is completely bare, and on the earthen altar one rarely finds anything other than the remains of offerings. However, one may make some bizarre discoveries there: tea boxes containing the oddest objects, cheap little mirrors, pious or secular pictures taken from illustrated magazines which have come to be stranded in these distant parts.

* 340 Chapels and oratories are particularly abundant in the whole of Carangas Province. They are generally on top of mountains in the middle of the desert. Paths and even superb roads lead to them in a straight line, without regard for rugged places and sloping ground. These strange monuments which stand out against the grey of the mountains and which, distorted by mirage, look like temples or churches radiantly white, all contain the remains of offerings and some rare decoration. Near the village of Kala, a day and a half from Chipaya, I saw a whole group of these chapels carefully kept up and, in addition, bearing a small shelter for pilgrims. One could see piles of excrement there, drawn from the entrails of sacrificed animals, and traces of blood. At the foot of the hill there were stone enclosures for llamas. From this place roads five to six meters wide broke away and led in straight lines to all the points of the horizon. These large avenues, absolutely clean, did not seem to have been used for a long time. I never had the leisure to follow them to the end, but I believe that they would have led me to some village or to some group of houses forming an estancia or an ayllu. The Indians never wanted to give me any information about the purpose of these sanctuaries, and the priest

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Chigaya

/340 cont. /

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 • 71 of Huachacalla whom I questioned replied to me that they were used for "superstitions," and that he did not want to know anything about the cult and the pagan ceremonies which were clandestinely performed there.

* 978
 554 The agents of worship. Each festival is presided over by an allerez who bears the costs of it. It is he who furnishes the victims for the sacrifice and who distributes the coca and alcohol, the main attractions of these ceremonies. He must, moreover, offer a feast for all the inhabitants on the day after the festival. This generosity gives him the right to occupy a place of honor in the middle of the assembly, to sit behind the shelves of sacred straw, and to /341/ receive the homage and compliments of those present. These privileges do not end with the ceremony of which he took charge. On Carnival day the allerez of the preceding festival dance, carrying on their backs the chacras which they acquired while they were in office and which the ritos have consecrated. On this day they bear once again the white banner, the insignia of their rank from which they draw their name. A rivalry exists among the allerez which is translated into a desire to eclipse each other and to surpass each other in honors. If the festival for which they had responsibility was particularly successful, if the people of their urco were well entertained and intoxicated, and if the gardens of cheese and fruit were plentiful, they gain a certain prestige which flatters their vanity. For vanity is the weak point of the Indian character. I do not know if an allerez who has proved himself generous has more of a chance than another to get the title of skralde or corregidor. The institution of the allerez is very widespread in the entire Andean region. It is so strongly impregnated with Spanish and Catholic elements that one hesitates to see the survival of indigenous traditions in it. Nevertheless, this idea of rivalry and certain details recall the form of porfiri too much to allow us to attribute an exclusively post-Columbian origin to this important office. One must read in Fournet (1) the pages which he devotes to

Caracas
Chigaya

On what was

4096 / 241 cont. / in Paredes (2) two pages which he doubts to

654

1. Mitos, supersticiones y supersticiones
enc., p. 176-180.

the allerey's to realize what the rank of allerey means to an Indian or Bolivian cholo. The position of glory of bearing this title for one day generally brings the ruin of the base of the festival with it.

This expense is so crushing that in order to meet it the allerey are often obliged to have recourse to their relations or friends for help.

This consists of small gifts, and those who give them are called ayta. The debt which is contracted in these circumstances is, Paredes tells us (2), sacred, and one cannot fail to discharge it.

2. Id., p. 182.

During the Chigaya festival I have actually seen Indians who come to offer the allerey either eggs, amounts of rice, corn, or alcohol. These little gifts were most welcome and accepted with gratitude by the allerey, whose resources had been singularly exhausted by the world-wide crisis. Dr. River (7) observed customs in Ecuador

3. River (Paul). "Étude sur les
Indiens de la région de Sucre
/ Study on the Indians of the
Sucre Region." Journal de la
Société des Américanistes de Paris.
Paris, New Series, Vol. 1, No. 1,
1911, p. 76.

identical with those described here, the only difference being that in that land the allerey bears the name of prince. "The Indians have a strong desire to give festival which will eclipse all previous ones. This fully justifies some information to work a chain plan, keeping themselves stubbornly all but the strictly necessary Paul even on Sundays (strange contradiction). Then the festival arrives,

Capegey
Chigya

[198] cont. /

these they are prayers, and in eight days of song the fruits of one year of work are drummed."

One cannot give the efficient of Capegey through the role of "magician," although the Indians designate him by the name of yari (magician in Spanish). The personage who sponsors all the sacrifices, who prepares the majority of the dances offered as libations to the deities, and who says the prayers, is not at all like a medicine-man /griote in English/. He is generally an old Indian who has maintained the traditions of the past. Beyond the service which he renders the younger generation thanks to his knowledge of the ritual, he fills no particular office and enjoys no more esteem than any other elderly man. It is not, however, impossible that my friend, Antonio Mikiu, was actually a real yari. This is only a supposition on my part after having seen him officiate at several festivals and having admired the competency with which he accomplished his task. The Indians frequently pointed him out to me as the man who had been the prayer to the magician. He also had some talent as a harmonium-player and was a good reader of the art of "reading in the coca." I do not know, however, if he still was called upon in cases of illness. The only case at which I was present was made by a Capegey whom I had never seen officiate in any festival and whom I would never have suspected was involved in these superstitious practices.

Espino Miamasi, a magician great with the head of a lion, made himself noticed by his soul during festivals. His functions were, however, limited to reciting prayers, which for the most part had a marked Christian character. He discharged this duty with a fervor and enthusiasm which made the desire for mental equilibrium. Among all the Capegey he alone was associated with evolution life. He appeared truly possessed by an immortal deities when with half-shut eyes he gazed as if in ecstasy. Immediately afterward he would wish and laugh with an air of conspiracy, as if he had just pulled a good trick. He was affable and pleasant in spite of this, but taciturn, unsympathetic, and in spite of a fierce god.



The women of the village entered themselves to the most numerous of dances, the one which I described in connection with the festival of the spring of St. The circles broke up from time to time to form processions which, at a running pace, under the white banners of the spring, approached the neighboring village to find as a rule before a bar whose owner offered drinks to everyone. Although the members of each village preferred to dance on their own territory, visits to neighboring villages were frequent and sometimes led to a coupling, which contrasted with the rigorous separation usually in force.

In a few days belonging to some affairs a table, transformed into an altar, had been set up with the consecrated drapes of white and the heads and feet of the animals slaughtered for the festival. People went there to offer up libations and to dip into the pile of wine placed before the various gods.

The festival continued in this fashion for a whole week. At night the young girls would gallop through the village holding each other by the hand, singing their melancholy songs, and a few musicians offered up to them wild tunes. The scarcity of alcohol did not allow supposed persons to be intoxicated, and I was not witness for any of those boisterous scenes in which the Aymara express themselves. They scarcely, I noticed, had a few quarts and

Carangas -
Chiyaya

[59] /380 com. / They scatted, I believe, had a few quarrels and exchanges of blows, and I did not see any of the public copulations to which Carnival festivals often give rise among the Aymara.

The following Sunday, the last day of the Carnival festivities, was particularly lively. All the clans had joined together and were dancing in a compact mass. The church tower had been decorated with garlands of /381/ fruit, cheeses, and bread, and a sheep immolated in its honor. The four corners and the bells had been sprinkled with its blood.

[60] The prayer to the Tower, a demon which, like the Turisirini-mal'ku, is common to the two aysa, was recited in the course of this sacrifice:

Turi-mal'ku, Vauk mal'ku, Saint Ann, mal'ku tuma,
Tower-demon, great demon, Saint Anne, demon east.

tasatitun, mainiti, rokiti, hasiti
west of he who obtains, who prays, in this manner.

tuma, waim, tiempo, Imaitimail'a, wale, wale,
good young weather hearken to me, good, good.

tuma, wata, Imaitimaita, tapa, arowimaita,
good year grant us all servants to.

"Demon of the tower, great divinity, Saint Anne, demon of the Turima and Taxata aysa, our intercessor, those who pray, make us at this time have propitious and good weather, grant us a good, very good year to all of us, thy servants."

[59] The spectators lined up in two rows face to face and exchanged their bags of coca and their last drinking cups of alcohol. [61] Some of them, the most important, had separated themselves from the assembly and offered up their libations to the demon and the guardian saints, kneeling before their sacred sticks. A collatero stood in front of them to say the responses.

Sapir
Capeya

/187/ con-1

The number of spirits which rule over a household may be even more considerable. In a paper of Aymara origin which I recorded among the Capeya, in the course of a sacrifice made to the domain of the house, the dead and the kitchen are invoked at the same time in the chant.

Building a house gives rise to various ceremonies which are uniformly throughout the territory inhabited by the Aymara. There is no Capeya but an which one does not see to the left of the door upon entering the blackish spot of blood with which it was sprinkled after its erection. The inside of the roof also bears traces of bloody sprays. This sacrifice is followed by a feast, the men of which are borne by the owner of the new dwelling, and to which he invites all those who, relatives or friends, have aided him in the work of construction. The occasion is used to offer up many libations and to ask, probably of the protecting spirit, that "the straw (of the roof), that the house, that the hut for the kitchen be good, that it last for many years."

<u>shashai's</u>	<u>shaya</u>	<u>shamashai's</u>	<u>sham</u>	<u>shai</u>	<u>shai</u>
straw	house	kitchen for	good	many	year

<u>shamshai's (1)</u>	<u>shaya-shi</u>
endure	house this.

1. from the Spanish aguardar.

"to endure."

[19] /188/ A beautiful example of the bilingual jargon, a mixture of Capeya, Aymara, and Kichwa /Quechua/ words, which the Indians use in their conversations with the diavolo.

The sham-shai is honored each time that an Indian returns home to the village after a long stay in his "water house." As the number of sham-shai in Capeya is limited, I would not have

Cambridge
Mass

/1911 cont./

- 764 with her spouse and other affairs. This is the last which the earthly goods left by the Cipayas undergo, and the charred remains of their buildings are piled up beside the enclosures where their body reposes. The husband gave out a few more men over the month and returned home, escorted by a large number of individuals who came to take their share of the funeral feast. The widower's family had been occupied with it since morning and had slaughtered two sheep and put enormous bottles full of quinoa pulp on the fire. (12) Among the Cipayas as among the Aymaras, mourning obligations leave the survivors to make considerable sacrifices and to dissipate their savings capital.

- Passing near the hut of the widower this same evening, I saw him with one of his children on his back and the other near him busy preparing his dinner. On /the/ evening we be in our arms must, we mediated to be the expression of my emotion. This was the last evidence of regret that the dead woman incurred. From the next day on she was forgotten, and the village, distracted for a moment, went back into silence and indifference.

Worth and value

- 121 The way that I made among the Cipayas was dedicated in large part to gathering as many elements as possible of their organizing language. In the hope of being able to make a grammar out of it, I busied myself as much as possible with ascertaining expressions, phrases, and relevant sentences. Accomplishing this task was not always easy for me. The Cipayas know only Aymara outside their own language and, with the exception of the carregador and two or three young people, do not know a word of Spanish. In order to be able to deal with them, I almost always had to have recourse to my Aymara interpreter, and the responsibility which often arose of being able to communicate

Campesino
Chapaya

(714 cont.)

948 the summit. This is the most used only be constructed to create the natural hut of the second type entirely made of cloth.

The wall hangings are placed on the outside and inside with a thin layer of earth which resembles the irregularities of the surface.

949 The door. The opening (A) of the door (B) which is always framed with a white band is generally larger below than above and its angles are rounded. It does not open at ground level but at a threshold about 30 centimeters high. The door itself is situated inside the habitation. It is made of laths of Cereus joined by leather thongs and by crosspieces, and is articulated by means of two pieces, one of which, the upper one, is stuck into a piece of perforated wood (Fig. 1. C-D See p. 142/3).

950 Figure 1 1/2 to C gives an idea of the ingenious peg work of the Chapaya and its functioning. It is carved of Cereus wood and is of a type identical with that of the Aymara, who copied it from the old rural Spanish huts (1).

1. On this subject see Campesino (1. 1913). "Tratado de etnografía indio-andina y de la historia de la América etnográfica." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, New Series, Vol. 82, 1914, pp. 121-133.

951 The roof. The new dome (P) which covers the Chapaya hut of the first type is complicated and ingenious in construction and certainly represents the most delicate work which these natives undertake. When the walls of the hut are two meters above ground, two rows of cloth larger than the others and with perpendicular joints are placed on top. The upper ones are provided with arifices intended to receive the ends of the arches which support the new cupola. The framework of the latter is actually formed by logs (See pp 142-143 -- 001957)

It is more as
 /165 cont./ a pastime than for food that the Chipaya amuse
 themselves trapping them with small reed baskets, which are sold
 to them by the Indian peddlers who come from Andamarca or
 Orimaza. These openwork baskets are, it appears, real fish traps
 which the shore-dwellers on Poopó use. The Chipaya use them to
 hold small objects (Fig. 3, B /see p. 155/).

Preparation of Food

282

It is more to relieve my conscience than in the hope of pre-
 senting new facts that I shall devote a few lines to Chipaya cooking.
 [71] Their food and the preparation of their dishes are exactly those
 which have so often been described in connection with the Aymara
 and Quichua.

[49]

The quinua cuticle has, as is known, a bitter and disagreeable
 taste. To free the seeds from it they are grilled in a dish, then
 soaked in a stone vat (taksira) (Fig. 2, J /see p. 150/) which the
 Chipaya buy from the people at Huachacalla who make them (1).

1. The vats are sometimes of
 baked clay.

When the seeds have been softened, a woman takes a standing position
 in this vat and leaning against a wall, she husks them by turning
 the lower part of her body (Pl. V, A /see p. 214/). To see them
 execute this strange gymnastic is a picturesque spectacle. The seeds
 submitted to this treatment are then spread on a blanket and win-
 nowed by hand.

283
284

The quinua is used to prepare a soup or, reduced to meal
 (taksal'ipir), a porridge. Leaves (cañi) of this plant or of cañagua are
 cooked in water like spinach greens. Maize (tara) is eaten roasted
 (mar-tara) or boiled the same as beans. The Chipaya eat /166/
 potatoes (xtusa), as everywhere on the altiplano, in the form of chuño.

Carangas
Chipaya

234
[283] /166 cont./ When the pile of cheeses is high enough it is firmly bound with a wool rope and left to drip for a certain number of days. These cheeses, white and tasteless, are seasoned with salt which the Čipaya get from the great salt deposits which spread out about 30 kilometers from their village. /167/ /Figure 3 appears here./

/168/

Weapons

224
[72] The small number of weapons that the Čipaya have is a direct consequence of the insignificance of hunting in their economy. As for war, it is an unknown phenomenon for them. Who would dream of coming to pick a fight with them for possession of the sand dunes or stunted pastures? The only occasions for giving free rein to their bellicose instincts are the festivals. The alcohol they absorb then accentuates the underhand rivalry of the sayas among themselves, and, awakening passions, leads them to often bloody fights. I do not know if any weapons other than sticks and fists enter into play in this case.

411
[71] The sling (kxorawa) (Fig. 4, A /see p. 157/), which is the weapon par excellence of the Indians of the altiplano, has only a peacable use in Chipaya: it is used to hurl lumps of earth at llamas or sheep to prevent them from straying from the flock or from the route being followed. It is possible that the Čipaya might have recourse to the sling when they have some quarrels with the people of the other saya, but I was never able to get particulars on this subject. Another circumstance contributes to making the sling of the Čipaya a harmless instrument: the lack of stones able to serve as projectiles.

The bolas of the Čipaya play a role close to that of the sling: they permit them to catch the sheep. The most common type is the ordinary bola. The stones instead of being caught in a leather sheath, as is the case with the archaeological specimens (Fig. 4, D-B), are furnished with a groove which prevents the rope from slipping (Fig. 4, J).

[Text continues on p. 156]

/168 cont. /

223 In hunting water birds the Čipaya use a straw rope ending
411 with a knot the size of a fist (Fig. 4, C /see p. 157/). This weapon
● 171 corresponds exactly to the bola perdida of the ancient Patagonians,
with the difference that among the latter the terminal ball was of
stone. Aside from this the principle of these two weapons is the same.
This is the first time that the bola perdida has been found elsewhere
than at the southern end of South America. Its presence among the
Čipaya is one more argument in favor of the archaic character of
this culture trait.

223 The Uro Indians of the Desaguadero hunt the water birds
411 which swarm in the totorales with bolas, two weights of which are
wooden, and the third a small pyriform stone. The rope of this
projectile is rolled up in very tough black thread. If the weapon
does not reach its goal it floats on the water, and the Indians have
only to pick it up with their balsas. /169/ /Figure 4 appears here. /

/170/

Clothing

291 Men's wear. The essential piece of men's wear is a square
shirt (ira) made of thick, stiff woolen cloth. It is a kind of sack with
openings for the head and arms (Fig. 5, ~~C~~ /see p. 163/). As a re-
sult of its width the upper part of this shirt falls on the shoulders
practically down to the elbow. The ira was formerly the only gar-
ment of the Čipaya, as it still is for young boys up to the age of ten.
At a doubtlessly recent date, the Čipaya adopted the pants that they
wear under their tunic. By making the latter bunch at the waist
on a cord which takes the place of a belt for them, they have trans-
formed it into a blouse, while keeping its original length which was
enough to cover them down to mid-leg. The ira is the best product
[331] of Čipaya textile art. The decoration of this article of clothing
invariably consists of a blue border and small brown and white
[386] strips separated by black lines. None of these dyes is aniline.

[Text continues on p. 158]

291 /171 cont./

1. The specimen at the University of Tucumán is 1 meter long and 87 cm. wide.

(yakol'a) of pre-Columbian times still competes with the poncho. This fact thus comes to the support of Montell's thesis (2), which

[113]

2. Montell, Gösta. "Le vrai poncho, son origine post-colombienne /The True Poncho, Its Post-Columbian Origin/," Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Vol. XVII, 1925; Dress and Ornaments in Ancient Peru, Göteborg, 1929, pp. 237-244.

sees the poncho as a practically modern culture trait, at least for Peru. The Chipayas cloak is made of two strips of material sewn together and bound with piping. It is point for point the ancient Aymara llacolla of which Cobo (3) has left us a description. In the

[294]

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191

[113]

3. Cobo (Bernabé), Historia del nuevo mundo (Published for the first time with notes and commentaries by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada), Seville, 1893, Vol. IV, p. 160: "The cloak takes less work: they make it from two pieces, with a seam in the middle, two varas and a cuarta long, and a vara and three cuartos wide; it ends with four points or corners, like a woolen blanket /manta/ or coverlet, and because of

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Chipaya

/171 cont./

this we call it mants, although the name the Indians give it is yacolla." /Cited in Spanish./

In the Museum of Ethnography in Göteborg there is a magnificent piece of fabric from the coast of Peru which presents the same characteristics as the modern Chipaya cloaks and which was certainly used in the same way. The Chipaya ponchos are very short and display no peculiarities. Their only decoration is the strips of color.

The men's outfit is completed by a knitted wool helmet with two flaps which cover the ears (Fig. 5, C /see p. 163/). This is the famous Aymara chullo. The famous felt hats (skara) worn by both sexes in the entire Andean region has become more and more widespread in Chipaya as well as the pants. They have not yet succeeded in destroying the picturesque archaism of the area. The material for the pants is made in the village of Chipaya on a treadle loom of the European type.

Bags (kāh) are a part of Chipaya clothing because they are never separated from it. These bags, which are worn thrust through the belt, are of various kinds. There are small ones with vivid colors and geometric ornamentation, others which are simpler with black lines on a grey background, and finally large ones covered with a kind of velvet, i.e., with tufts of fine wool slipped into the weave (Fig. 4, B /see p. 157/). The last are the most expensive. I also bought in Chipaya small leather pouches /172/ made of the skin of a young llama's neck pulled off without a side incision and with the fur (Fig. 4, I).

Woman's dress. The costume of the women has remained as it was several centuries ago, and it is the main factor which contributes to giving Chipaya its so clearly pre-Columbian look. Here also the general law which will have it that women, as soon as we abandon our urban centers, remain attached to tradition and to old ways more faithfully than men is verified.

Carangas -
Chipaya

/172 cont./

291

Next to the skin the women wear a square shirt (almif'a), which is identical in form to the masculine shirt (ura), although narrower (Fig. 5, B /see p. 163/). It is wide enough to make the shoulder line fall on the arm. Blue sleeves are sewn to the shirt. This accessory is modern as is proved by the name manhau (from the Spanish: manga, sleeve) by which the Indians call it.

The Chipaya women wrap their bodies in a large piece of cloth (urku) which they pass under the arms and the ends of which, lifted to the shoulders, are held together with a cactus spine or a silver pin (bits, pās-bits). This tunic is held at the waist by a large belt invariably decorated with brown and black chevrons (Pl. III, C /see p. 212/). Most of the women sew the lower part of this garment from the waist down on the side so as to make a skirt. This innovation, post-Columbian in origin, dates from the beginning of the Conquest and was imposed by the ecclesiastical authorities to safeguard the decency of their flock.

The urku is made of material woven with great care, brown or black in color and ribbed. It is always adorned above and below with a beige strip with white stripes. A specimen at the Museum of Ethnography at the University of Tucumán measures 1.50 meters by 1.36 meters. Over this tunic is thrown a long brown or black mantle (talú) which falls down the back to the knees and which is pinned at the breast. This garment is still worn by all the women of the Andean region (lliclla), but whereas the Aymara and Quichua Indians like to make it with varied motifs and bright colors alternating, the Chipaya are satisfied to decorate it with a white strip crossed with fine dark stripes (Pl. I, A, B, C /see p. 210/). The mantle of the Chipaya women is, in addition, much longer than that of the other Indian women of the altiplano. It is only on the banks of the Titicaca that I met some women whose lliclla were as long as in Chipaya. These Indian women no doubt came from some distant village in the interior.

Carangas
Chigaya

/172 cont. /

- 291 To protect themselves from the rays of the sun the Čipaya women put /173/ /Figure 5 appears here/ /174/ a folded cloth (unkufia) on their head, which makes a sort of Neapolitan headgear for them. If it rains they tie it under the chin as do many European [53] peasant women. The small square of cloth is made of a fabric identical to the mantle, like the latter it is brown or black and bordered on two sides with a fine-striped white strip.

Style of Wearing the Hair

- 302 The men cut their hair in a circle all around the head. The women part it in about 60 small plaits (kurú) separated by a part and joined together in two bunches in the middle of the back (Pl. V, A, C /see p. 214/). They then make two large braids intermingled with woolen strings, the ends of which are tied to each other by small strings. On these strings are hung small bronze pendants (laurake), the original type of which, still kept to this day, is a small statuette representing a woman with hands crossed on the breast (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/).

- The women decorate their hair in addition with metal needles (kits, pāz-kits, xxola), the round, flat head of which is perforated with a hole from which a red wool string hangs (Fig. 5, D /see p. 163/). In former times, probably for festivals, they would encircle the forehead with a headband, of which I was able to acquire one last specimen reproduced here (Fig. 5, A). The glass beads which spangle the surface are very old in appearance. The headband and spangles are two culture traits which are completely typical of Andean culture.

- 302 The women know no other toilette other than the care given their hair. The evening before festivals those who feel the necessity of redoing their plaits abandon themselves to the hands of a few friends who begin by brushing their hair with a brush (kxara) made of roots (Fig. 5, E) or pig bristles (Fig. 5, F), which they soak in [text continues on p. 164]

/178 cont. /

286

To lay out the warp threads for a fabric made up of stripes of different colors, the Čipaya have recourse to a very quick process. They put each of the differently colored balls /of thread/ into a bowl and pull successively on each of them.

386

Women's belts are made using a technique which differs from that of ordinary fabrics. Two weft threads are used. They are crossed alternately on each of the sides of the strip, as shown in

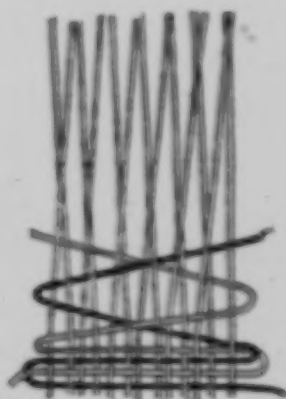


Fig. 7. — Weaving with two weft threads going in contrary directions.

Figure 7. A woman who wishes to weave a belt sits down on the ground legs extended, attaches the forepart of the loom (Fig. 4, G /see p. 157/) to her waist, and then stretches out the warp by placing her two feet against the stick at the opposite end.

The Čipaya loom, which is of a very simple type, differs from those of the other Indians of the Sierra only by the absence of the two posterior stakes, for which the body of the weaver is substituted here.

- [17] The Čiriguano /Chiriguano/ women use the same process to weave* their belts. This system is certainly older than the modern solution consisting of stretching the warp threads between four pegs.

The pieces of material used to make pants are woven on a treadle loom of Cereus wood locally made (Pl. V, D /see p. 214/).

- [18] This apparatus, the only one of its kind in the whole village, completely resembles those which are to be seen on the puna of Jujuy (1).

Carangai-
Chipaya

/180 cont. /

Musical Instruments

534
[114]

The musical instruments that I got among the Chipaya have been the subject of a detailed monograph by Mr. Izikowitz, assistant at the Museum of Göteborg and an outstanding specialist in that field. I am allowing myself to refer the reader to this work (1), as

[113]

1. Izikowitz (K. G.). "Les instruments de musique des Indiens Chipaya /The musical instruments of the Chipaya Indians/." Revista del Instituto de etnología de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 2a, 1932.

he will find only a brief summary of it here.

● [121]

Membranophones. There is not one family in Chipaya which does not have at least one drum. This instrument, very common on the Peruvian and Bolivian altiplano, in Chipaya presents the peculiarity of having a square shape (Fig. 8. A /see p. 173/). It is made up of a wooden frame whose sides, made of small boards brought together with tenons, are about 20 centimeters long and six to seven centimeters high. This skeleton is covered on its two faces with sheep or llama skin stretched by means of ligatures passed in a zigzag across the holes in the membrane. Along the latter there has been fastened a drum cord, or a string holding a splinter of wood which hits the membrane. They play the drum by holding its handle in the left hand and beating it with a single drumstick, the enlargement at the end of which is covered with rag.

[126]

I was able to acquire a round drum in Chipaya (Fig. 8. E). The mounting is formed by a piece of flexible wood bent into a ring, with the ends sewn together by means of leather thongs. This specimen measures 37 cm. in diameter and nine cm. in height.

Carangas
Chapaya

/182 cont./

534 inserting practically the whole tube in the mouth. This instrument, clearly post-Columbian, is rather rare in Chapaya. The Indians part with it willingly, attributing to it only minimal value. They play it for the pleasure of making noise without any musical pretension.

• [m] The quena. The abundance of different kinds of flutes may be considered typical of the Indian music of South America. This variety is displayed even among the Chapaya. One finds here the quena, different sorts of flutes with mouthpieces, and lastly Paspipen, or the syrian.

[m] Quena is the old Quichua word for the ancient long flute of Peru. As the quena of the Chapaya are exactly the same as those of the /182/ Aymara or the Quichua, we have only to reproduce here what d'Harcourt says on the subject of the latter: "This flute is open at both /Figure 9 and 10 appear here/ /184/ ends. A square opening has been carved in a portion of the upper end of the instrument. The edge of the opening is very thin, and it is blown against while the lower lip practically closes the opening. One must place the lips in such a way as to allow a stream of air to meet the edge of the opening. Before one is used to playing this instrument, it is very difficult to adjust one's breath and find the suitable position, all the more so as it changes according to the tones."

As bamboo and reeds split easily in these basically dry regions and, on the other hand, the raw material for these instruments comes from faraway places, it is easy to understand the care with which the Indians take care of them and the value which they attach to them. The quena I collected are carefully strengthened with unbored leather thongs and the interstices have been glued with so much care that no breath of air can escape and render the flute unusable.

The quena (Fig. 9 /see p. 175/) has six holes and a hole for the thumb at the bottom. All are on the lower part of the instrument. If we start from the mouthpiece and begin with the upper hole, the respective distance of the holes, calculated in centimeters, is the following (Fig. 10, b /see p. 175/):

[Text continues on p. 196]

Chicago
Chicago

Flute cont.

In La Musique des Indes [The Music of the Indes].

8. d'Alcort reproduces several similar flutes as well as straight flutes with mouthpieces of an unusual construction. He was, unfortunately, unable to give anything more specific than "Bolivia" for the provenance of these instruments.

While examining the contents of one of the boxes that the Cipaya use for storage, I had the good fortune to discover a flute with mouthpiece made from a wing bone of a condor (Fig. 6, C. See p. 171f.). The bark inserted in the opening is, as for the preceding flutes, made of wood, and it also has six holes.

If the mellow flutes with which we have been occupied up to now are locally produced, this is not the case with the pukal's, another type of flute with mouthpiece which is of a more complicated construction although based on the same principle. The six holes are carried on a slightly depressed surface which facilitates the play of the fingers. Figure 8, C presents one of these pukal's, which I acquired on the frontier of Bolivia and Argentina. The Cipaya pukal's are identical and without doubt come from some Bolivian village. They abound in all the Aymara and Quichua markets.

The ula flutes with mouthpieces are often provided with a small rounded whistle near the mouth. Unfortunately I never had the opportunity to acquire a specimen of one, the owners of these perfected instruments always refusing to sell them to me.

The flutes with mouthpieces receive the name, in the Uro-Cipaya dialect, ula, a generic designation for "flutes." These instruments are basically used for ula secular purposes and have no other end than to enliven festive days.

While there are very few Cipaya who know how to play the quena, almost all the men have a flute with mouthpiece and take part in the concert which is organized on festive occasions. The Indians accompany themselves on this instrument even while executing intricate figures. During a religious ceremony the Indians may also play a little melody from time to time while seated.

Carangas
ChipayaPanpipes.

[54] Panpipes. The Chipaya Indians have two types of Panpipes. The first (maso) is extremely simple. It is composed of two tubes of unequal length, closed at one end and tied together with a wool cord (Fig. 8, D /see p. 173/). One of the tubes is 10 cm. long and the other 12.1 cm. This instrument was a particularly difficult acquisition for me. There was only one specimen in the whole village, and it was moreover the property of the mayordomo, the official entrusted with maintaining places and objects of worship. He only resigned himself to giving it to me after much hesitation. Even before I had acquired this object it had been mentioned to me as a valuable piece. I had only one occasion to see it in use: this was at the Carnival, a particularly solemn and clearly pagan festival.

[59] One Chipaya had the happy idea of selling me a whole series of syrixes which present several very interesting peculiarities. They are composed of a single row of bamboo tubes (five or seven) closed by a natural node and held inserted between two sticks themselves joined by a crossed string. Each of these pipes is provided on one side with a splinter of bamboo cut obliquely on its lower part (Fig. 8, E).

What is the purpose of this arrangement, which has not been found on any other Panpipes in the Old or New World? Mr. Izikowitz conjectures that it is a question of accessories of no practical value which have been substituted for a second series of tubes. This

[14] hypothesis appears very far-fetched to me, and I ask myself if it is not a matter here of the fantasy of a flute-maker who thought of reinforcing the ligature by this means. The latter, in contrast, merits [11] our attention: it is actually a type which has only been found at Arica in the Andean region, but which still has a wide distribution in the west of the Amazon basin. Let us add that this ligature is always used for flutes with a single series of tubes.

[11] The syrixes which I have just described are apparently very old specimens. I have seen newer ones among the Chipaya of the type common among the Aymara and among all the Indians of the artipiano in general.

Carangas
Chipaya

/187 com. /

With the exception of the

534
[91] bamboo splinters placed against each tube, these syringes are very like the rather similar ones which have been discovered at Arica and also like the Panpipes used by the Indians of the area northeast of the Andes in our day.

As for the small syring with two tubes, it is too simple an instrument to be considered at great length. In any case, up to the present its equivalent has been found nowhere.

[109] /188/ Aymara influence and through its medium that of Europeans have been strongly exerted on their musical instruments, just as on the rest of their culture. This penetration can be very simply explained when one thinks that aside from tola, they have no other material out of which they could make a musical instrument, and that they are obliged to import those that they use for their festivals.

Objects for purely ceremonial use

796 There are a certain number of objects which I acquired among the Chipaya, whose use is purely ceremonial and which should be examined in a special chapter. These are, in the first place, the [26] festive slings, several specimens of which I was able to get (1).

1. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII,
Pl. XVI. B.

These slings are passed over the wrist or carried crossed on the chest of individuals participating in the dances during great clan or tribal [301] festivals. Another accessory of the Indians on these occasions is the [337] wig made of horsehair (2).

2. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII,
Pl. XVI. C.

Copyright
Alfaro

/109 cont./

after mass on Palm Sunday.

It is not impossible that the palm /palmar/ wood of the Capaya corresponds to these "palm" of the Quichua. Cf. Ordoñez (Dr. Pastor). "Los Varayoc." Revista Universitaria. Cuzco, eighth year. No. 29, September, 1919, p. 43.

- 996 guardians of the house are worshiped with libations and fumigations. They are also indispensable accessories for the magician who always plant them before themselves when they are going to make a prayer or a sacrifice to the demon. One must also not forget among the objects used in worship the baked clay censers which are shaped like a footed cup, and the small cupules for libation.

462

Division of Labor

	Men	Women
House-building	•	-
Straw rope	-	+
Spinning	+	+
Weaving	-	-
Weaving with treadle loom	+	-
Cooking	-	+
[857] Livestock care	+	(preferably the children)
Cheese	-	+
Milking of the sheep	-	+
Shearing of the sheep	+	-
Rope-making	+	-

Capezaya
Capezaya

[212] cont. /

191
415
[113]

and Downing (Monrovia).

Landgeschichte des alten Peru/An History of Old Peru/.

Berlin, 1824, Pp. 90-121.

[52] Perpendicular form, when external circumference is steep descended with curving in relief. The shape and the issue in which they were when carved (sculpture) seems to exclude the possibility that they could have been used to gain any substance thereon. In dimension and appearance they greatly recall the small vessels, also of wood, [217] in which the Capezaya women knit quinoa by treadng on it. I am inclined to think that this was also the way in which these so-called exercise mortars were also used.

[117] Weaving. The Capezaya method which consists of attaching the loom to the belt instead of fastening it to two stakes as is customary elsewhere on the sierrano is also a survival of pre-Columbian times (1). On a jerythra of Tiquila, also reproduced.

[113]

1. This custom is not, however, general. Ronald L. Olson, "Old Empires of the Andes," Natural History, New York, Vol. XXXI, 1931, No. 1, p. 11, publishes the photograph of a woman of Marcamachay whose loom is fastened to the waist, and he informs us that the weavers of the equatorial sierrano still follow the same method.

where one sees some women in the act of weaving, one notices that they have their loom attached to the waist, passed around the body by means of a band covered with geometric designs (2). This

George
Lapota

Latin. Russian and Chinese invade the village. The children themselves share in the general amusement. They never have fun, or to speak, and have no toys. The men watch over their sheep with a vague eye as they squatting in their huts chewing cane or doing nothing. The women, if necessary harvest them, weave some coarse material or occupy their leisure time by looking to find on each other as by having the innumerable small plots of their husband's.

The Čipaya are somewhat much more congenial and pleasant than their neighbors the Aymara. They do not have the marked interest of strangers which many of the Bolivians have inherited from the Aymara. They are also not so stupidly grouping and stubborn as the latter. The Čipaya are, without doubt, of all the Indians in the alpine the most pleasant and easygoing. In spite of this almost apathy which I have just noted, they are capable of laughing, which rarely happens among the Aymara, at least in the presence of strangers. They like him to appear well-wishing, and my relations with them were almost always excellent. I had difficulty with only two Čipaya, who, in the middle of a festival invited me to drink liberally. Their attitude, due to their alcoholic excesses, was severely judged by those present. During all the ceremonies in which I took part, I was the object of all sorts of generosity, and they could never forget to offer me alcohol and coca. This generosity was all the more touching as the poor Čipaya pay a lot for these products and, as a result of the crisis, had only a very little. I often received presents of small cheeses which were given me as a sign of recognition for a service or advice. Sometimes these humble gifts were made without any hidden reason, simply out of friendliness.

I never had to complain of dishonesty among them, but I have reason to believe, however, that they are not so scrupulous when it is a question of the property of other members of the tribe. Several small facts removed all my illusions in this respect. Life in Chipaya is not idyllic, jealousy rages there like an unleashed and malevolent devil. No Indian dared to call me the objects which I acquired for my collection; in broad daylight all feared the unkind comments of those near them.

/172-199/

1. We are going to place a rim of totoras. 15. He attaches the rim of the balia. 16. He tightens the rim of the balia. 17. We are going to finish. 18. (The totora) is still a bit loose; we are going to tighten it a bit more. 19. All is finished. 20. Now the balia is ready. 21. Let us go fishing with the new balia. 22. We are not going to hoist a sail? 23. We are not accustomed to use a sail; there is too little water. 24. We always use a boat hook manipulated by hand. 25. There is the snare which is attached to the large net so that the fish can come. 26. The fish is going to enter (the net); now we are going to lift (the net) up and put it in the balia.

Remarks

This text is divided into two parts. The first, 1 to 20, describes the making of balsas from totoras. The second is a succinct description of fishing with a net in the swamps of the Desaguadero.

- To build these balsas the Uru use the Scirpus totora, which used to grow in abundance in the swamps of the Desaguadero and at numerous points on the shores of Lake Titicaca. Two Indians work at the same time on the construction of a balia. First they lay out the bunches of totoras on the ground, from which they make three spindles the length of the balia, two large side ones and a middle one which is shorter and thinner; this middle cylinder, the "heart of the balia," used to stabilize the craft, has passed unnoticed by practically all the authors who have concerned themselves with the Uru. Only the fishers on the lagoon of Arapa, to the north of Lake Titicaca, who speak Kešwa, build balsas, small and rather narrow, formed with two cylinders.

- The totora of three cylinders is held in place with the aid of thin straw plaits (2-4), which hold the cylinders evenly between them. These straw ropes are tightened in a progressive and methodical fashion by two /174/ men, working alternately

/176 com./

6539 on each side of the balsa (10, 12, 17) in order to make the
396 two large side cylinders equal in weight, bulk, and compression. This is the delicate part of the manufacture, on which the stability and quality of the craft depend. The Uru use wooden hooks for this job (12). At the same time they compress the totora with a stout hammer (13), adding or removing totora as necessary; they water it from time to time to prevent it from drying. When the work is finished the middle cylinder, the heart of the balsa, completely hidden between the side
[46] cylinders, is invisible. Depending on the size, the construction
539 of a balsa takes an average of three to six days. The life of a
501 balsa is short; after having been wet they become heavy and rot inside; they are good for six months to one year in general.

The balsas used on the Desaguadero and on the low parts of the lake in the neighboring lagoons which are not very deep (Arapa, Unumayo) do not have sails (23), or only a very small sail, in contrast to the balsas on the large lake which they propel by sail. The Uru steer them with the help of a boat hook ending in three teeth, which they push against the muddy
[191] bottom (24). These boat hooks are identical to those of the Guatos of upper Paraguay, who belong to the Nu-Aruak /Nu-Aruak/ linguistic group.

539 From the point of view of grammar, note the frequent use
193 of the repetitive particle -Yu-, indicating that the action expressed by the verb is habitual. Also note the repetitions of words or roots to reinforce the idea expressed (3-12, etc.)

The verb lifi' čay expresses the idea of carrying off, of lifting up, of raising (22-23); compare it with 4-5 of text III.

*539 /182 cont./ also the Uru do not have any
 81 apachete /piles of stones in the hills/, offering places /183/
 1098 at spots struck by lightning, whereas these little monuments
 1191 are very frequent among all the neighboring native populations.
 152 However, our informant, an Uru, Carlos Kiske, is very frightened
 1829 of storms. The reason for this is undoubtedly that only the pure
 848 Uru enjoy this immunity, not bastards nor those of mixed blood.
 Now our informant, although part of the Uru group, was father-
 less, "hána hep' seš- čay," "no father is," "an illegitimate
 son," a very frequent case, whose father is unknown. He did
 not at all insist on submitting to the test of lightning to be
 1161 assured of his pure Uru ancestry. If an Uru is struck by thunder,
 1829 drowned, or even dies of pneumonia -- dangers against which
 848 the true Uru are protected -- everyone sees it as indisputable
 proof of illegitimate and foreign paternity.

*539 From the point of view of vocabulary this text shows the
 191 same irregularities as the preceding text by the same informant
 192 (V) /see p. 15/ frequent elisions of final vowels: ča instead of
čay; the repeated use (1-7) of wáli, "much," an Aymara form
 not found in the texts nor in the numerous phrases gathered
 from the other informant. 2. wáli-píni, association of an
 Aymara word and an Uru word with the same meaning to rein-
 force the idea; we find an analogous case in ti-hún (5), the
 Uru-Spanish association already noted. 2. hána Kála čí čúña,
 "not good good is," association of two words of almost identical
 meaning to reinforce the idea: "this is not good at all." 3. The
 particle -kála after the verb "to go" has the exact meaning
 of ex in Latin, literally exit. 4. The correct form would be
war-tis. 6. háske indicates a very distant fact, an idea still
 more strengthened by the suffix -ta, sign of the past: "a very
 long time ago."

/184/

IX. Funeral Customs
(Account by Carlos Kisper)

(See p. 167 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

* 539
764
[915]
[982] 1. We others, we have the custom of making a meal in honor of the soul. 2. We offer libations to the souls. 3. At night we have the custom of digging (the grave). 4. Then we have the custom of coming to burn (the clothes of the dead person). 5. We have the custom of burning the clothes of the soul. 6. Let us go burn these clothes. 7. Let us light the fire. 8. We burn only the clothes.

Remarks

In this short account the informant summarizes several funeral practices of the Uru. At first it is the evening of the funeral, during which relatives and friends eat in honor of the dead person (1) to whom libations of alcohol, chicha, and coca are offered (2). After the burial, without a coffin, in a simple ditch dug during the night (3), and which will not subsequently be marked by anything, the clothes of the dead person are burned.

* 539
764
● 191 These practices are very different from those of the other natives of the Cordillera, speakers of Aymara or Kešwa, who gather several days after the burial to wash the dead man's clothes and divide them up. The customs of the Uru recall those of numerous Amazonian groups.

The complete abandonment of the grave after burial must also be noted; it contrasts with the care which other populations of the Cordillera give to graves.

* 539
101
93 1. ućumi; this is the personal pronoun of the first person plural, with the exclusive meaning "we others, the Urus."

[Text continues on p. 23]

/207 cont. /

Kline: ++

[143] We shall only conclude from this isolated observation
[164] /208/ the existence of possible heredosyphilis or of a very
attenuated syphilis in one of the most conservative members
of the group, who always severely condemned sexual relations
with other natives as being against the traditions.

[128] These few isolated examinations have no great significance;
they do emphasize however the interest which a numerous
series of hematological and serological investigations among
the isolated native groups of the Cordillera or the South Ameri-
can forests would have.

Conclusion

[141]
[128] In spite of the small number of subjects examined (9),
owing to the rapid decline of the group and its approaching
extinction, this study of the last Uru of Iru-Itu permits us
to make a few interesting conclusions.

[171] Height varies little from that of the neighboring Andean
populations, and small and medium stature predominate.
The population is as a whole macroskelic.

The cephalic index among the men who can be con-
sidered as not crossbred with the neighboring populations is
lower than 75.0% (average: 73.51). Three women are
moderately brachycephalic; we must note that they are closely
related.

Dolichocephaly, a tendency to leptcephalia and to
leptoprosopy, the bigoniac diameter almost equal to the
minimum frontal diameter, leptorrhinism, a high and narrow
ear succeed in characterizing this group.

[114]
[141]
[144] As a whole these results agree with the few previous ob-
servations on the Uru and the Chipaya (Imbelloni's two Uru
skulls; a few measurements by Posnansky), emphasizing the
morphological unity of these two groups.

224 They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lasso the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

233 **Herdng.**—The Uru have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The Uru have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

241 **Farming.**—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

252 **Food preparation.**—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

293 Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

296 Like all the altiplane peoples, the Uru chew coca.

171

HOUSES

342 Most Uru houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, top, left)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and makes it waterproof. Grassbrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller Uru shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The Sojopaca Uru build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isle of Panza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

582

SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

[B. A. E. BOLL. 148]

Like
 601 the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according
 171 to age.

585 Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by
 a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that for-
 merly couples were married while standing back to back in the water
 591 of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901)

582 states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women
 648 during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

622 If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been for-
 gotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native *hilakata*, or
 648 *alcalde*, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neigh-
 bors are led by this official.

RELIGION

771 The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also
 776 a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic
 171 and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they
 787 believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking
 782 omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their
 635 deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), how-
 ever, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since
 the 17th century: the *buchhu* or *sisa quikitha*, and the *chiy-chiy*,
 in which bags are held in the hand.

796 The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed
 from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian
 782 feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (*siku*),
 sing and dance the *mimule*, and perform the ancient rite of blood-
 sacrifice (*wilancha*) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood
 177 near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and cere-
 monies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

538 Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara*
 171 stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

184 The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with
 177 the *Uru* of the Rfo Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in
 culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Where-
 433 as the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are
 chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUSTINENCE ACTIVITIES

231 The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals,
 172 and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at
 public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (*mallku*) with little individuality (Chunkirini-mallku, Kemperani-mallku, Estewan-mallku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-mallku). The *sámiri* are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-mallku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the *mallkus* and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

ficed to the house spirits, and a cup of blood is presented with all kinds of offerings and decorations to the stuffed cat, which is kept in a corner. 789

The herds of each family are protected by a special samiri—a stuffed sheep buried ritually in a corral together with offerings of blood, herbs, and coca, and with a box containing images of sheep made of grease, mineral powders, flowers, sweets, and several other magical substances. 778 825

Whenever an animal is slaughtered for food, a short ceremony takes place with offerings of coca and chicha. The head is placed on an improvised altar decorated with flowers, on which they also place coca and the cupulae with the sacred mixture. The natives salute the head, offer it coca, and pour a few drops of chicha or alcohol in its honor. 231 782

After shearing the llamas and sheep, the Chipaya make libations on the wool and offer coca and chicha to small clay images of sheep and llamas. These images are also deposited on Christmas Eve on the church's main altar. 236 782 532

Shamanism.—Certain diseases attributed to supernatural causes are treated by the yasiri. He makes the usual libations and offerings, and kills a sheep by pulling out its heart, which is placed on the ailing region of the patient's body. 755 756 753

Divination is practiced by the examination of a bunch of coca leaves. 789

FOLKLORE

Chipaya folklore is essentially the same as that of the Aymara. The tales collected by Métraux (1935 c, pp. 395-415) deal with the misfortunes of Fox, the trickster, who is fooled by Condor and Duck. The motifs of the magic pregnancy and of the miraculous recognition of the unknown father which form part of the myth of Coniraya, recorded by Francisco Davila, in Huarochiri, occur also in a Chipaya tale. Other elements of the same tale show close relationship with Chiriguano folklore. The Chipaya represent themselves as the last survivors of the chullpa people who have been exterminated by the Sun, an obvious survival of the myth of the destruction of mankind as told in the ancient Andean mythology. 538 591 793

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Bertonio, 1879 b; Brinton, 1890; Chamberlain, 1910; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1925-27; Ehrenreich, 1905; Forbes, 1870; La Barre, 1941; La Grasserie, 1894; Latham, 1910; Métraux, 1934 c, 1935 b, 1935 c, 1936 a, 1936 b, 1936 c; Ore, 1607; Polo, 1901; Posnansky, 1934; Rivet, 1925-27; Uhle, 1896; Vásquez de Espinosa, 1942. 113

evidently there has been mingling with the Killas since types of features characteristic of that group are to be found.

Aside from their agricultural and pastoral activities, the most outstanding feature of this village is its religion, which, although it does not basically differ much from the Aymara beliefs and rites, has been preserved in a purer form. Their idolatry is characterized principally



Group of Chipaya Indians.—Photo Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia.

by the veneration and deification of geographic accidents such as mountains, rivers, stones, etc. And even the tower of the church appears to have impressed them for in the village they call it *Mallku Mayor*. Likewise, scattered about the village and its surroundings we find small towers of temples also called *Mallkus*, which represent without distinction demons and saints of the church.

Having had the privilege of living for almost a month among the Chipayas, we believe we are obliged to make a few recommendations to the government agencies concerned in view of the existing situation

[English text continues on p. 219.]

Chipaya

women. The hair is divided into innumerable tiny braids, each decorated with a small flat piece of bone, or a miniature bronze idol exactly like those found at Tiwanaco.

Chipaya men wear a costume similar to the tunic worn by various Indians in eastern Bolivia. It resembles the shirt worn by the women, but is fuller because it is square. In former times it was the only garment worn by the men; trousers are a recent addition. Colorful decorated pouches are always slung from the belt. The short striped poncho is known as the Chipaya cape. The hair is cut short all the way around and is covered with a cap similar to the chullo of the Aymaras; the distinction lies in the broad ear flaps worn by the Aymaras in contrast to the smaller ones and the much finer cloth of the Chipaya caps.

Every Chipaya family owns at least one drum. These instruments are common in the altiplano, but the square shape of the Chipaya drum makes it unique. It is also unusually small, measuring six to eight inches on a side and about two inches in thickness. It is covered with tanned llama skin, stretched over a wooden frame. This instrument is thought to be pre-Columbian, since its unusual construction is so dissimilar to that of the drums introduced by the Spaniards. The Chipayas make two kinds of flutes. The straight Andean flutes are generally made of bamboo, which is brought from other regions and becomes brittle very quickly in the dry climate here.

[Text continues on p. 22-B]

[p. 21-B]

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *flauta de pico* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the *tola* shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape. [534] [824]

They also use the *ayo*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck. [533]

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimú vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw. [302] [777] [312] [482] [285]

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *mallcus*; the Lauca River; the nearby moun- [771] [776] [778]

(but further complicating the matter by bringing in the dispute about the possible relationship of Atacameñan and Uru, which relationship he finally denies).¹⁰ The problem, of course, awaits the attention of the linguistic specialist who shall have complete access to all the documents in the case. Garcilaso de la Vega, it is true, in his *Historia General de las Indias* listed "the Puquinas, Collas, Urus, Yuncas, and other Indian nations." But the Colla and Yunca were subdivisions of the Aymará-speaking stock, which weakens Chamberlain's citation of this as proof of the distinctness of the Uru and the Puquina. *Prima facie* evidence suggests that they are the same; meanwhile, where are we to find any considerable group in the Lake Titicaca region to have spoken the non-Aymará, non-Quechua "lengua general" of "Puquina" except the linguistically moribund and heavily Aymarized Uru-Chipaya?¹¹

Name. The present-day Uru of the Rio Desaguadero have been given various names by chroniclers and ethnologists. De la Grasserie gives the synonymy *Urus*, *Uros*, *Hunos*, and *Ochomazos*, as well as the controversial "Puquinas"; Calancha, however, gives the name as *Ochozumaz*, and Brinton *Ochozomas*. Posnansky says the name of the Uru for themselves is *Uchumi*, and their language *Uchumitaku*; they also call themselves *Kjotsuni*, but never "Urus" or "Puquinas." Métraux, however, found the Ancoacqui Uru

¹⁰ Métraux (JSAP 27, 1934), p. 89. Eric Boman, *Les Antiquités de la Région Andine de la République Argentine* (Paris 1907-1908), pp. 67-73. Boman (p. 72) identifies the Desaguadero Uru with the Changos, also called "Uros," of the Pacific coast farther south, making them the pre-Quechua, pre-Aymará, pre-Yuncan aborigines of the Peru-Bolivia region. Chamberlain thinks they must have been Inca "colonists"; so too Brinton (*American Races*, 221) who notes that Oliva (quoted in A. Bastian, *Culturländer des Alten Americas* (1878 Berlin, vol. 2), p. 93) averred some of them were found on the coast near Lambayeque. Since "Chancu" was one of the Aymará nicknames for the Desaguadero Uru, this coastal group of "Changos" may indeed be Uru. Wisler, *The American Indian*, 2nd ed. pp. 312-313, lists and maps a northern "Puquinan" stock and a southern "Uru" stock; but on the linguistic map of South America (Fig. 82) he places "Puquinan" north of Lake Titicaca, and "Uros" in northern Chile, apparently following Boman on this point.

¹¹ The possible Arawakan affiliation of the Uru-Chipaya is another matter. Rivet and Crequi-Montfort have discussed this problem at length. Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 402-411, suggests connections of the Chipaya with the Chané and the Arawakanized Chiriguano, on the basis of zoomorphic characters in myths; but he further suggests the possibility that both the Chané and the Chiriguano got their mythical figures from the Aymará-Quechua general Andean folklore, as well as from the Uru-Chipaya. This second direction of diffusion appears to me more plausible: the myths Métraux (JSAP 26, 1934), pp. 67-102, collected from the Uru-Chipaya are nearly all tales identical with those of the neighboring Aymara. It is my opinion, however, that neither Nordenskiöld's nor Métraux' myth material is sufficiently specific in reference to bear any such burden of proof; some of them show Asiatic, Siamese, Shuswap, and Nootka parallels, i.e., the data are pan-Amerind, indeed, proto- and pre-Amerind.

193 gender, know both prefixes and suffixes (but predominantly the latter), and also, in all probability have some forms of incorporation. But more material (texts, etc.) is needed to complete a satisfactory grammatical sketch. Reduplication appears to be not infrequent.

192 All the Uru of Ancoacqui speak Aymará well, though few of them know
[191] Spanish. Aymará influence in vocabulary has been pointed out by Métraux.²⁰ Spanish influence is second in importance in borrowings, and Quechua a poor third: according to my calculations, in Métraux' vocabulary and textual examples identifiable as non-Uru, of 630 total listings of words, 63 or 10% are Aymará, 20 or 3% are Spanish in origin, and only 8 or 1.3% are Quechuan. Polo (page 479) notes four Aymará, perhaps three Quechua, and fourteen Spanish loan-words in Uru.

191 Tribal Relations. In any case, long contact with the Aymára is to be argued from the many Aymarisms in Uru culture, though of course nearly all of these are common *altiplano* possessions: the chewing of coca, the use of Aymára-like gorros or knitted llama-wool "toboggan-" caps for males, the use of *takis* and *t'ola* as fuel (as with all *altiplano* dwellers, including the whites, although there are unexploited coal beds south of Lake Titicaca), use of the *pinku*-flute and other musical instruments, the Aymára-like brush-comb and many other articles of material culture, washing the hair in urine, the Aymára modification of colonial Spanish male clothing, the belief in and interpretation of dreams, some family names (e.g. Quispi, Inta), color-names, and vocabulary in general. Save in religion and other aspects of non-material culture, the Uru, like the Chipaya, is little different from general Aymára-Quechua *altiplano* culture, though because of relative isolation the Uru may have preserved elements of this Incaic culture from pre-Spanish times somewhat better than some of these original groups themselves.

144 Physical Anthropology. Uru males outnumber the females, and for some
[162] time they have been taking wives from among the Aymára. In so long a
[178] period of contact with their neighbors of so numerically small a group, much mixture of blood is inevitable; yet the preservation of their language is an earnest of a certain amount of social and biological isolation. Only four
[551] family names were encountered at Ancoacqui: Inta, Salina, Bila and Qispi
[631] (for taxation purposes family names are used with Spanish given names), hence inbreeding may have intensified racial features otherwise diluted by
142 the occasional intermarriages with the Aymára. The Uru, particularly the younger individuals, have pleasant almond-shaped eyes, with a distinct

²⁰ Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 90-110.

slant. The skin is definitely darker than that of the Aymara. Wallé (page 155) thought that the foreheads of the Uru were narrower than those of their neighbors, but much of this I believe may be due to the sometimes striking width at the outer corners of the jaw (see for example, Pommansky's Figure 92). The lips are moderately full; the Uru share in the ancient Amerindian habit of pointing with the lips. The teeth of the fish-eating Uru are whiter and appear less carious than those of the *Isa*-consuming Aymara (*Isa* is a preparation of potatoes, with the nitrogenous and liquid matter fermented and frozen and dried out of it). Perhaps because they are fishermen, the Uru are much cleaner than the Aymara and have no such repugnant body odor as they. [42]
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The women wash their hair in stale urine, which apparently contains a grease-cutting principle and use an Aymara-type brush-comb in caring for it. The hair, which is of course straight and jet-black, is parted in the middle and worn in two braids back of the shoulder, the ends tied to each other with vicuña- or llama-wool cords so that they do not fall forward when the woman is working or bending over. The men cut the hair very short in quasi-European fashion or cut it in an all-around bang like many of the natives of the Bolivian tropics. [302]
[412]
[417]
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The Uru are shorter even than the short-statured Aymara, so that a European of only moderate height appears to tower over them: the average cannot be much more than five feet for adult males. They do not have the grotesquely disproportionate long torso and short legs of the Aymara; indeed, in spite of their short stature, their legs appear to be well-proportioned and even relatively longer than those of *altiplano* inhabitants in general. The most striking difference from the neighboring Aymara is in the nose: the Uru nose is relatively small, and depressed at the root, while the Aymara nose is unqualifiedly enormous in all dimensions and continues the line of the forehead in many cases. [42]

The bodies of the Uru are sturdy and graceful, but not so heavily and conspicuously muscled as the Aymara; this is undoubtedly due in part to their different modes of life, on the water and on the land, respectively. The younger women are well-formed and attractive by any standards. Even in so small a group I noticed one little girl spin her distaff left-handedly. The Uru appear to be healthier than the Aymara, possibly because of a more varied diet, but they have a skin disease which they call *tututia*. No adequate osteometry or craniometry has ever been done for this group. [46]
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Clothing. Anciently, it is said,¹⁷ the Uru "vivian desnudos del todo," but this unsupported statement is flatly incredible to anyone who knows the [29]
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¹⁷ In Neveu-Lemaire, *Los Lagos*, p. LXI.

[29] bitterly cold winters of the Bolivian plateau (second only in height to the
[132] Himalayan plateau of Tibet), and the cold nights even in summer at this
altitude. The essential male costume, as we know the Uru, was the same as
the pre-Columbian Chipaya *iso* (Aymara *saka*), a sleeveless, sack-like gar-
ment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with open-
ings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck.
[23] This was woven of llama-yarn on simple bar looms held by stakes on the
[197] ground. (The Chipaya, like the Aymara, have foot-looms of a crude sort
borrowed from the colonial Spaniards; so too have the Uru.)

[29] This garment was at one time the common garment for *all* plains natives,
[175] not only the Chipaya and Uru have retained it. Although nowadays Uru
[197] men wear trousers (*makfi*) of Aymara cut, slit at the heel (after the fashion
of colonial Spanish trousers) and made of native homespun, children still
wear this "camiseta" (Aymara *ajwila*), and Pomansky made a collection of
these ancient garments for the Tullucanacu Museum in La Paz. Nowadays
a homemade shirt, *akali*, and sometimes a crude vest, with leather sandals
(but usually the feet are bare), a knit llama-wool *guro* (Uru *ikara*) with
ear-flaps in Aymara fashion, and sometimes a crude Aymara-made felted
hat (Uru *ikara*), complete the male costume. The belt called *lasi* is not
always worn. Thick wool ponchos (*akali*) are also worn on occasion.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts (*akali*), girdled at the waist, and
untailored bodices pinned at each shoulder at the top with a large copper or
bronze Aymara pin. This tunic is called *akali*, but clothing in general is
called *shini*, "skin, hide"—which suggests an earlier, non-textile material.
The feet are usually bare, but dark-brown or black wimpen or shawl of
llama-wool are worn when travelling, over the head in the Aymara fashion,
[191] but without the added hat on top. The dark color of the women's clothes in
this whole southwestern region of Lake Titicaca is said to be because they
are "mourning for the last Inca,"—which would not necessarily be so for the

Uru! The ancient head-dress of many small braids, still rarely encountered,
[302] is called *lasi*. This fashion is pre-Columbian, to judge from mummies in
[192] the La Paz museum.

342 Houses. Although some of the habitations in Ancuagui are of the
Aymara rectangular style, the majority are round in ground-plan, built in
horizontal courses of rectangular turfs (much as the ancient tombs or
alpas of Incaic times), the outside wall often being secondarily plastered
with adobe-like mud. The door always faces east, and is closed at night by
a thick bunch-element twined *akara*-reed door. On the rectangular houses
[335] the roof is made of single-element *akara*-reed mats, twined at the ends, and
[385] laid so that the reeds are parallel vertically, along the slope of the roof

(Aymara rectangular houses are diagonally thatched, not matted in the Uru fashion). Possibly because of the scarcity of wood, "rafters" in the roof are made of thick bundles of reeds, the main supports laid east and west, with secondary supports arched north and south. Some of the round houses have a roof framework made of bent sticks laid at right angles and grass-rope lashed at their crossings. On this framework of wood or *tolera*-bundles, large mats, employing the full lengths of these giant reeds, are laid in two sections, so that there is a sort of pseudo-ridge to the roof, running from over the door to the west wall; this ridge is made by the meeting of the butts of the reeds. Grass ropes are laid over these mats to hold them down in the wind, and tied to wooden pegs in the mud walls of the house. There is no smoke-hole save the door, so the roof mats become speedily coated with soot and are quite waterproof. One must stoop in entering the door, but a man can stand upright in the center of the house. A mud "stove" is placed to the right (north) of the door, in which *Pala* (a kind of grease-brush), *yareta* (woody, turf-like masses of a semi-subterranean shrub), or *sakis* (llama-dung) are burned for fuel, owing to the absence of wood in the region. The cord used on the roof-mats to twine the ends of the single reed elements, is true two-element twisted rope, the torque of the twisted strands of wiry grass holding the whole together. The rope used in binding *balsas*, on the other hand, is of tightly plaited grass, possibly because the more laboriously made plaited grass rope has greater strength and durability than the twisted kind.

Anciently, according to the 18th century writer Alcedo, the Uru lived in caves and holes in the ground, but they share the round type of house with their congeners the Chipaya. The same round house type is seen elsewhere scatteredly in the altiplano. Forbes noted "beehive" houses in out-of-the-way places, and in the 16th and 17th century descriptions such as that of Cobo are indications that the round hut was the original Aymara style. Métraux noted round mud houses with corbelled domes like those of the Chipaya, at Kruilliri, near Toledo; and villages of round houses may be seen the west of the railroad halfway between La Paz and Oruro.¹⁸

¹⁸ David Forbes, *On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru* (Journal Ethnological Society of London, Vol. 2: 193-205, 1870), p. 233. Panamsky, *op. cit.* p. 69, also says the Uru formerly lived in caves or holes dug in the ground, and roofed with mats. Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 4 vols. (Sevilla, 1893), Vol. 4, pp. 165-167. Métraux (JSAP 28: 190-194) says that the rectangular huts of the Aymara are built after Spanish patterns, and that only the chiefs at Chipaya used them, others building the older round type of house. The round style is common, however, for tracing the provenience of the Uru: Braun noted Quechua storehouses of this kind in southwestern Bolivia, Nordenskiöld the same form among Aymara at Tunari, near Cochabamba (Otto Braun [Letter to Nordenskiöld in 1931]; Erland Nordenskiöld, *The*

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342 Another house type, beyond the rectangular-thatched and round-matted forms, is that to be found in several examples on the plain just to the north of Ancoacui. These have a rectangular ground-plan, and instead of being thatched with grass or *tolora*-mats, have a pyramidal "dome" corbelled of the same turfs that the walls are made. One of these photographed was on a slight artificial elevation, and had a shallow "moat" around it, possibly to provide dryness and drainage during the long rainy season. Another has two doors, both east and south, suggesting that shepherds might watch their llamas from these tiny huts, which are too small for family habitation; one of them has a chimney-hole in the roof.

Posnansky¹⁹ says the Uru of Sojopaca built temporary shelters, apparently of mud, "like beavers," and figures a carefully domed *pusaka* on the islet of Simillaque, as well as a round, stone-roofed house on the Isle of Panza. Uru round houses at Ancoacui have vertical walls, but some of those of the Chipaya (Posnansky, Figs. 39 and 56) are battened inward, like truncated domes. On islands in the Desaguadero swamps I noticed temporary shelters of *tolora* shaped like an old-fashioned straw beehive with a point, erected to shelter the *balsa*-builders.

226 Food. The Uru have repeatedly been referred to as being chiefly fisher-
262 men, but fish are by no means exclusively their diet. Their linguistic con-
331 geners to the south, the Chipaya, are chiefly pastoral, and the Uru likewise have pigs, donkeys, some few chickens, sheep, and cows, but no llamas or alpacas. Of the cows Métraux writes:

those on the border of the Desaguadero [have] become amphibian. They pass the whole day in the water browsing on aquatic plants. From a distance one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan marsh.

[311] These half-wild creatures are so "pastured" because of the acute lack of land among the Uru, whose agriculture,²⁰ for the same reason, is thus greatly circumscribed. The Uru have dogs, which they call *paña*. Like the Aymara, and most *altiplano* Indians, the Uru keep domesticated guinea-pigs in their houses. Pigs wander about the village also, but are sometimes placed in

[342] *Ethnography of South America seen from the Mejos of Bolivia* (Comparative Ethnographic Studies 3, Göteborg, 1924), p. 19; see also Bernabé Cobo, *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, Vol. 2: p. 62; Huaman Poma de Ayala, in Montell, *Dress and Ornament*, p. 188, Fig. 86 (in Métraux *loc. cit.*).

¹⁹ Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 108 and Figures 104, 111.

[12] ²⁰ George McCutchen McBride, *The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia* (American Geographic Society, Research Series 5, New York, 1921), p. 18, says the Uru "form the rare example of a highland Indian tribe which is not markedly attached to the soil, in contrast to the agricultural people that surround them."

396 knives on the ends of poles, then stacked in shocks like corn, after they have been dried spread out in the sun. Nearly all able-bodied Uru males have quantities of these materials in various stages toward the manufacture of the complete boats. In their houses, even, in spare moments, men are continually braiding the grass into tough ropes to bind the boats together.

Though shaped like a boat, the *baloa* is of course actually a raft. A handful of reeds is bound together and repeatedly thickened with more reeds so the middle of the cigar-shaped element is reached, then tapered off again into a point. The only tool used in the manufacture of this is a wooden hook (412) (*ayala*) with a handle at an acute angle to it, used to tighten the lashing of grass rope. A more tubular and thinner sheaf of reeds forms the keel of the *baloa*, and two of the fat cigar-shaped bundles are separately lashed to it, forming a sort of sea-diel type of hull, which cannot be overturned in a storm; the thinner ends of these cigar-shaped bundles are slightly raised fore and aft of the boat. To form gunwales, a still thinner and tubular sheaf of reeds is lashed (during its own round-and-round binding with braided grass rope) through the original lashing of the hull-elements. One of these gunwales (*pin/a*) is placed on each side of the top of the hull-elements to prevent splashing of water onto the occupants of the boat as it is poled along. The Uru *baloa* thus differs from the Aymara¹⁰ type in that its two large basic elements are lashed to a central "keel" and not to each other (though the bulwark lacings are similarly loped through the lacings of the two hull-elements); it has therefore five instead of four elements. The Uru also rig their *totora*-mat sails with a slight difference from the Aymara. Sails, however, can only be used on the Lake and on the open river "before the wind" since the boat has no center-board and cannot tack. In the narrow swampways a punt pole or gaff (*akai*) with a stubby trident at its end is used to push the boat along. The wood for these comes from the yaguar of the Cordillera Real's eastern, tropical slopes. (See Pomansky, Fig. 83.) A complete *baloa* cost in 1937 from ten to sixteen *bolivianos*, then worth about \$4.

285 Of Uru textiles we have already noted twined single-element *totora* *baloa*-sails, twined many-element mattress-mats of reed, fish- and bird-nets (which they themselves make of cord obtained in Guasqui from La Paz), and single-element twined roof mats of *totora*. Métraux has an excellent description (page 86) of the preparation by soaking, pounding, and rolling of the wiry grasses of the region (*Stipa ichu*, *Festuca orthophylla*, and *F. dis-*

[113] ¹⁰ Lorenzo R. Parodi, *Las balsas usadas por los Aymaras en el lago Titicaca* (Physis, Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales, Vol. 11, Buenos Aires, 1952), pp. 145-149. Métraux' description (JSAP 27: 84) is of the Aymara type.

329 difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some poles are obtained from
331 sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

411 Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*pusi*) and bolas (*llasas*), though nets and wires are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian aborigines.

534 Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in
[101] use among the neighboring Aymaras. They are the *siku* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *pelo* (Aymara *pacifica*, lit. "your father"), the *grasa* (another Aymara flute, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (*Uru p'isa*). The reeds of which these are made are not *totora*, but come from a reed bamboo-like plant in the yungas. The *siku* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *pacifica* or *pelo* and the *grasa* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical instruments have their appropriate use in connection with a definite position on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed orchestrally save with the drum.

453 Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, bolas, and large *totora*-mats (or *llenas*, for carpenter in "whole" form).
[339] These are exchanged for feds, coca, wet-clothed, *chusques* (quinoa), and the few other indispensables of Uru life.

442 The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and -repairing, the cutting of *totora* and all the processes in the manufacture of bolas, mat-making (*llenas* and *llayras*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The chief leisure-time activity of the men is gram root twisting or braiding (Pomataky, quite unaccountably, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the gram and make the cords for the bolas), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save bolas. Their meager agriculture and herding are confined to such crops; children commonly care for the animals.

114 Social Organization. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of Métraux:
[64]

The information which I have gathered on their social organization is unfortunately very incomplete. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me by T. T. Lina, W. C. Lina, W. C. Lina, W. C. Lina.